

FORTY-SIXTH
ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

American Colonization Society.

WITH PROCEEDINGS OF THE

ANNUAL MEETING

AND OF THE

BOARD OF DIRECTORS:

JANUARY 20, 1863.

WASHINGTON:

WILLIAM H. MOORE, PRINTER.

312 Pennsylvania Avenue between 10th and 11th streets.

1863.

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FORTY-SIXTH ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE
AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

JANUARY 20, 1863.

Decease of Vice Presidents.

Ten of the Vice Presidents of this Society, the Right Rev. Bishop MEADE, of Virginia; the Hon. THEODORE FRELINGHUYSEN, of New Jersey; the Rev. GEORGE W. BETHUNE, of New York; Rev. JOHN WHEELER, D. D., of Vermont; JOHN NICKERBACKER, Esq., of New York; the Rev. NATHAN BANGS, D. D.; the Hon. SAMUEL P. VINTON, of Ohio; Hon. ELISHA WHITTLESEY, of Ohio; Hon. WILLIAM APPLETON, of Massachusetts; and JAMES FULTON, Esq., of New York, have died since our last anniversary. All were devoted to great objects of Christian benevolence; and to these early and able friends was this institution indebted, during many years, for very much of its reputation and success.

EMIGRATION.

The civil war, and the various questions which have divided and distracted the minds of our free people of color, have prevented any large emigration to Liberia during the year. But two small expeditions have left Baltimore for that Republic—the bark Jus-

Emigration.

gina, which sailed on the 10th of June, with eighteen emigrants, and the Mary Caroline Stevens with forty-seven emigrants on the 15th of November. A larger number had been expected from Tennessee and Kentucky, but the state of the times prevented their departure. In the Justina supplies were sent out for the support of emigrants, and some four thousand dollars for defraying expenses and making improvements in Liberia, while the principal part of the cargo (the whole cost of which was \$30,000) was shipped to fill orders sent out by citizens of Liberia.

In addition to the supplies for the emigrants, goods to the value of several thousand dollars were sent out in the Stevens for expenses and trade. All the emigrants by this expedition, with the exception of a single family from Maryland, were from free States; and among the cabin passengers were the Rev. JOHN SEYS, United States Agent for Recaptured Africans; EDWARD S. MORRIS, Esq., who visits Liberia with Philanthropic views, and to promote its agricultural interests, with several individuals and families, under the care of the Presbyterian and Episcopal Board of Missions. Five emigrants have also sailed from New York during the year.

COMMISSIONERS SENT FROM LIBERIA TO THE U. S.

The Legislature of Liberia, at its last session, authorized the President of this Republic to appoint suitable commissioners, citizens of Liberia, to the colored people in the United States, "to present the cause of Liberia to the descendants of Africa in that country, and to lay before them the claims that Africa has upon their sympathies, and the paramount advantages that would accrue to them, their children; and their race, by their return to their fatherland."

On the 18th of March, President Benson appointed as Commissioners for this service, Reverends Messrs. Alex. Crummell, and Edw.

President Benson's Visit to England.

W. Blyden, and J. D. Johnson, Esq., who early thereafter came to the United States. The Executive Committee cordially approved of this movement of the Liberian Government, and of the object proposed by the Commissioners, and cordially commended them to the respectful and favorable regards of all the friends of this Society. These Commissioners visited many of the Northern States, and most of the principal cities, exchanged thoughts with many of their colored brethren, conferred with them in their religious associations, addressed them and their congregations, and both publicly and in private, exhibited to them Liberia as opening to men of color advantages and prospects to be sought in vain in any other country. We are well assured that these labors were not without good effect; and the volumes mostly relating to Africa, published by Messrs. Crummell and Blyden while in this country, embody facts and arguments of great value, and will live as pious and eloquent memorials of their concern for their Republic and their race.

PRESIDENT BENSON'S VISIT TO ENGLAND.

President Benson, accompanied by Ex-President Roberts and lady, and several other Liberians, arrived in London on the 12th of April, found his health improved, and met with a cordial reception from Consul General Ralston, and many other friends of Liberia. He received gratifying attentions, and addressed several distinguished assemblies. He brought the condition and interests of Liberia to the consideration of the English Government, arranged for the settlement of the difficulties that had arisen, through the slave trade between Liberia and Spain, and concluded a treaty of amity and commerce with the minister of the United States, which has recently been submitted to the Senate by the President of the United States, and since ratified by our Government. He sub-

Ex-President Roberts.

sequently visited the continent, and enjoyed agreeable interviews with many eminent persons. He returned to England, and having addressed the Mayor and Corporation of Liverpool; and, also, a dinner given to the foreign consuls of that city, embarked on the monthly steamer on the 24th of October, having been absent about seven months from his African home. The President, writes Mr. Ralston, "has gained golden opinions wherever he has been in Great Britain and on the continent, and his visit will be of great benefit to his rising young country in making it known and extending commercial relations between it and the continent of Europe."

EX-PRESIDENT ROBERTS.

President Benson did not, as was his original desire, visit the United States, while the friends of Ex-President Roberts and the Trustees of Donations for Education in Liberia were gratified that the latter gentleman spent a few weeks in our country, occupied especially with the affairs of that college over which he presides. Of that college we can give no account so satisfactory and complete as that contained in the last report of the Massachusetts State Colonization Society, from the pen of its distinguished Secretary, the Rev. Joseph Tracey, D. D., justly regarded as beyond all others the founder of that institution:

LIBERIA COLLEGE.

"Our last report," says the Secretary, "announced that the legal difficulties which had for several years impeded the completion of the college buildings had been removed, and the work on them resumed. We are now happy to announce that the buildings are completed and ready for use."

Liberia College.

“The plans and specifications for the buildings were drawn by L. Briggs, Jr., Esq., architect of Boston, under the direction of the trustees, in consultation with President Roberts, with a careful regard to economy, in view of the uses of the building, the nature of the climate, and the probable necessity of future enlargement. The main building is seventy feet long by forty-five feet wide, and three stories in height, on a foundation of Liberia granite, and surrounded by a verandah, eight feet wide, on an iron frame, the posts of which are inserted into blocks of granite. It contains apartments for two members of the faculty and their families, who will reside in the building and have the immediate oversight of the students; a dining-room sufficient for these families and the students; a room for the library and philosophical apparatus; a hall to be used for a chapel, lecture-room, or any other purpose for which all the students need to be convened; rooms for recitation and for study in classes; dormitories for students, and the necessary offices, store-rooms, and other accommodations. The kitchen is a detached building, in easy communication with the dining-room. The eleven dormitories furnish all desirable accommodation for twenty-two members of the regular college classes, which is as great a number as can be expected for some years. They may, without discomfort, receive twice that number; and when it becomes necessary, more dormitories may be added with little expense.

“The Legislature of the Republic has done liberally. It has granted the site of twenty acres, on which the college stands, and where it must remain till removed by the concurring votes of its Trustees and the Legislature. It has granted, as an endowment, one thousand acres of land in each of the four counties, to be selected by the trustees. It has appropriated six hundred dollars, to enable the professors to visit foreign institutions. It has given the college a carefully revised charter, the result of the best thinking in Liberia, aided by able counsel in the United States, and satisfactory to both Boards of Trustees who are concerned in its management. And it appears ready to grant any other favors in its power which the best interests of the college may be found to require.

Liberia College.

"This delay has not been wholly useless. It has secured the settlement, in the minds of Liberians generally, before opening the college, of questions which otherwise would almost certainly have come up, and might have made trouble, at some future time. It has also enabled the Trustees of Donations, to whom the appointment for the present belongs, to find a Faculty in Liberia, and thus to avoid the most formidable obstacle to the successful establishment of the College, viz: the difficulty of finding suitable men elsewhere; inducing them to accept the appointment; securing their safe acclimation; and above all, making them acceptable after their arrival.

"The college had already an able President, the Hon. J. J. Roberts, under whose superintendence the buildings were erected. The following appointments were made August 9, 1861, viz:

"Hon. J. J. Roberts, Professor of Jurisprudence and International Law.

"Rev. Alexander Crummell, Professor of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy, and of the English Language and Literature.

"Rev. Edward W. Blyden, Professor of the Greek and Latin Languages and Literature.

"Till other arrangements are made, Prof. Crummell is to give instructions in Logic and Rhetoric, and in History; Prof. Blyden in the Hebrew and French Languages; and the two, conjointly, in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy.

"Professor Crummell, being necessarily detained for a time in the United States, engaged in procuring books for the library. He is understood to have procured about four thousand volumes, many of them very valuable and difficult to be obtained. A list of these, with the donors, will probably appear, from the proper source, in due time; but it seems a duty now to mention the gift of about six hundred volumes by the corporation of Harvard College, through J. L. Sibley, Esq., librarian.

"A part of these books have been sent out, and have arrived. With them have been sent about seven hundred specimens for the cabinet of mineralogy, gathered from most parts of the world between the Mississippi and the Ganges, and wanting only two or three specimens, which are already promised, for a complete

Liberia College.

elementary cabinet. A small but well-selected box of specimens in conchology accompanied them.

"For the inauguration of the college, January 23, 1862, was selected, as a time near the close of the session of the Legislature when the attendance of the proper persons would be most convenient. On that day a procession was formed in front of the house of President Roberts, and marched, led by a band of music, to the college buildings. The exercises were sacred music, reading the scriptures, prayer, music by the band, addresses by Chief Justice Drayton, President Roberts, and Professor Blyden, appropriate resolutions moved by Hon. D. B. Warner, and adopted by the Trustees, and a closing Doxology. The Legislature ordered the addresses to be printed at the public expense.

"The way seemed now fully prepared for the formation of college classes and regular recitations; but the appointment of two professors as commissioners from the Republic to the colored people of the United States, compelled its postponement for a few months.

"The endowment of this college, and its support till endowed, will demand the earnest consideration of the friends of Christian civilization in Africa. The funds remaining in the hands of the Trustees of Donations, after erecting the college buildings, are well invested, yielding a satisfactory income. But their income is altogether inadequate to the support of the college, and no good financier would willingly encroach upon or disturb the principal. The New York Colonization Society has assumed the payment of Professor Blyden's salary, from the income of its Fulton fund, and will support several beneficiaries from its Bloomfield fund.

"If more than a very few scholars are to be educated in this college for many years to come, it is plain that some of them must receive pecuniary aid, as few Liberians are able to spare the services of their sons, and support them in college, without aid. The best form of rendering such aid is doubtless by establishing scholarships yielding a certain sum annually, to be used in assisting students who show that they deserve it. The annual amount should be from half to the whole of a student's necessary expenses.

Independence of Liberia Acknowledged.

“The New York Colonization Society, in its late annual report, says: ‘Perhaps in no more certain way can perennial blessings be assured to the race in Africa than by the adequate endowment of professorships and scholarships in this college.’ “Twenty scholarships, founded this year, would do much to insure permanence and freedom to the future population of Liberia; while their prosperity would attract thousands of our aspiring colored population to become participators by emigrating thither.”

And that Society, at its annual meeting:

“*Resolved*, That to aid a thorough education among the people of Liberia, endowments of scholarships in the Liberia College are urgently needed, and this Society will thankfully receive, and faithfully apply, gifts intrusted to it for that object.”

The Executive Committee, at the suggestion of Professor Blyden presented to the college of Liberia an entire well bound set of the Annual Reports of the Society, with the African Repository, making in all more than fifty volumes. They were sent out in the Mary Caroline Stevens.

INDEPENDENCE OF LIBERIA ACKNOWLEDGED.

To Liberia and her friends the most cheering event of the year is the establishment of diplomatic intercourse between our Government and that Republic. “A bill authorizing the President of the United States to appoint diplomatic representatives to the Republic of Hayti and Liberia respectively passed the United States Senate by a vote of 32 ayes and 7 nays, and subsequently the House of Representatives by that of 86 ayes and 37 nays, and was approved by the President.” While it has been truly said “that the Government of the United States has never regarded Liberia otherwise than as an independent State,” and while by the new Constitution and declaration, issued by Liberia, (in 1847,) setting forth her true

 Liberian Agriculture and Trade.

character as an independent State, she stood prepared to negotiate treaties with foreign nations, yet this recent act of our Government announces our views of her importance, and places her on commercial equality with the most favored nations.

LIBERIAN AGRICULTURE AND TRADE.

Since our last general meeting, Liberia has made progress both in agriculture and trade. The following statement of exports from Monrovia for the quarter ending the 30th of June last, is copied from the Liberia Herald, of August 19, 1862:

Palm oil to Holland.....	27,000	galls.
England	41,000	do.
United States....	25,000	do.
Other parts.....	17,000	do.
	—————	110,000 galls.
Camwood to England.....	22	tons.
United States.....	15	do.
Holland.....	1½	do.
Other parts.....	23	do.
	—————	61½ tons.
Ivory to Holland.....	224	lbs.
England.....	105	do.
Other parts.....	100	do.
	—————	429 lbs.
Palm kernals to Holland.....	1,240	bushels.
Malagetta pepper.....	2,773	lbs.

In harbor for clearance barque Mowa, Frederickton, Hamburg, 70,000 gallons palm oil, and 20 tons of camwood.

The Liberia Herald states justly that Liberia is growing in importance. The brig Ann has arrived at New York, from Monrovia, with 20,000 gallons of palm oil, 6,000 pounds of Liberia coffee, 30 barrels of syrup, 21 barrels of sugar, 5,000 lbs. of spices, 3½ tons of camwood, and other articles. The Greyhound has since returned to the same port with a full cargo of palm oil and barwood.

New Jersey Settlement.

Fifteen hundred pounds of Liberia coffee sold in Philadelphia the last summer at thirty cents a pound.

The agriculture of Liberia has increased rapidly during the year, especially the products necessary for subsistence, and the crops of sugar cane and coffee. Several citizens of Liberia have from 1,000 to 3,000 pounds of coffee, and several are profitably engaged in the culture of the sugar cane. One has the promise of a crop of 30,000 pounds of sugar, and has also purchased 300 acres of land on the Junk river, which he represents as good land for either cotton or the sugar cane. The labor of the apprenticed recaptured Africans has contributed very much to the improvement of Liberian agriculture; they are represented as making rapid progress in civilization: says the New York Colonization Journal: "Fortunes can be made by industrious labor in Liberia, either at cotton, coffee, or sugar cultivation, and the only wonder is, that to a soil and climate so favorable for the production of these important tropical products, and where land is free, thousands of our peer and unemployed and poorly paid colored men refuse to emigrate and participate in these opportunities. With cotton at fifty cents a pound, coffee at thirty cents, brown sugar at ten cents a pound, no healthy man in Liberia can remain poor, three years, without criminal idleness.

NEW JERSEY SETTLEMENT.

The committee have sought to fulfil the views of the Board of Directors for the founding of new settlements, especially that of Finley east and interior, from Grand Bassa on the high lands, purchased by the New Jersey Colonization Society, and to which their attention has for some years been directed. The movements of the Society for this end have been restrained by the want of emigrants. Early this year, President Benson gave directions for the

Slavery in the District of Columbia.

opening of a road, and the construction of a Receptacle and other houses at the chosen site; and the Executive Committee appropriated the amount entrusted to them for this object by the New Jersey Society, concluding from estimates supplied by the Liberian Government, that the work would be completed by an amount furnished by that Government equal to that appropriated through the Committee by the New Jersey Society.

We are informed that several houses at Finley are already occupied by settlers from the neighboring settlements, while the road and the receptacle are expected to be ready for the emigrants by the Stevens, who have chosen Finley as their permanent home.

SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Since our last anniversary, slavery has been abolished in this District by act of Congress, and \$100,000 appropriated to aid in colonization, under direction of the President, in Hayti or Liberia, or some other country beyond the limits of the United States of free persons of color, and including those just emancipated in this District, who may choose to avail themselves of this act—not to exceed \$100 to the individual. The whole number of servants reported by the commissioners as emancipated under this act, and for whom compensation is awarded, is 2,989, while the entire number made free by the act, is 3,100—compensation being withheld for adequate cause in the view of the commissioners.

MR. ORCUTT, TRAVELING SECRETARY.

The Rev JOHN ORCUTT, traveling Secretary of the Society, has been employed with his usual energy in several of the States, mostly in New England, but recently in New Jersey. In the several States visited the last year, he has seen most gratifying evidence

African Explorations.

that our cause is gaining upon the confidence and sympathy of the public mind. Everywhere people manifest a disposition to hear on the subject, and a growing willingness to contribute to the object. Nothing is necessary but patience and perseverance in prosecuting the appropriate work of the Society to insure still greater success. But to accomplish all that is desirable and practicable, our plans and doings, and those of our auxiliaries must be characterized by wisdom and harmony.

AGENCIES.

The state of the country has prevented an increased number of agencies, and but two have been engaged for the Society during the year, the Rev. Franklin Butler for the States of Vermont, New Hampshire, and Maine, and the Rev. B. O. Plimpton in a few of the northern counties of Ohio. The former reports a uniform, courteous reception by the clergymen and people—the almost entire disappearance of opposition to our work—a decided increase of interest in it, especially among young men, and an increase of receipts cheering to us as it is commendable in the donors. For particulars of Mr. Butler's labors we must refer to his report, merely quoting his remarks, "that the general interest in our enterprise, it is believed, is greater than it has been for years."

The field of Rev. B. O. Plimpton has been narrow, but attended with great labor and energy, and well repaying his earnest efforts. He has been devoted for several years to the interests of this Society, and is much encouraged of late in his indefatigable exertions.

AFRICAN EXPLORATIONS.

The Royal Geographical Society reports the continuance of the admiralty surveys of African rivers, and that many travelers are making discoveries in unknown and unvisited regions. The river Volta,

African Missions.

the Ogun, with its branches; the Zambesi and Rovuma have been partially explored, and skeletons of maps sent home for publication. The result of the ascent of the Rovuma, which it had been thought might open a safe way to the vast regions of the Niassa, was not satisfactory, so that Dr. Livingstone revisited the Zambesi, and established the University Mission in the healthiest position to be found near the banks of the Shire. Dr. Livingstone has since visited the west coast of the Niassa, in an open boat, (200 miles) but no certain account was obtained of its northern termination. Captain Burton is now her Majesty's Consul at Fernando Po, and has visited many parts of Benin and Biafra. The Geographical Society has cherished an intense desire to solve the problem of the sources of the White Nile, and look anxiously for intelligence from Captain Speke, who was so long the companion of Captain Burton in the Somali country. A few months may decide what has so long been a question to geographers.

AFRICAN MISSIONS.

Mission Stations now are established in Northern, Southern, Eastern and Western Africa, and their light and influence felt in the barbarous and unknown regions of the interior; in Egypt, and Abyssinia, and throughout Southern Africa, at Abeokuta and some distance up the Niger, at the Gaboon, Corisco, and Cape Palmas. In all the districts of Liberia, Sierra Leone and the Gambia, and along the shores of the Mediterranean, men of God have taken their stations to proclaim the Word of Eternal Life. The past year their numbers and influence have increased.

SLAVE TRADE.

A Treaty has been formed during the year, between the United States and Great Britain, for the abolition of the African slave trade,

Benevolence of the Society.

which it is hoped may prove efficient, though this hope is darkened by late advices from that country. Late accounts received in England, speak of a recent revival of this traffic, notwithstanding the large fleet of cruisers employed for its suppression.

“On the 29th of October, a large screw steamer shipped upwards of 920 slaves at Whydah, and got to sea, although several British cruisers were keeping a sharp lookout after her. Other vessels are also reported to have escaped with cargoes of slaves.”

A writer from Khartoun, on the White Nile, says that the legitimate trade of that place, has given way to traffic in slaves and ivory. Plunder and murder are its constant attendants.

During the year the Government of Liberia appointed the Rev. John B. Pinney, L. L. D., (Corresponding Secretary of the New York State Colonization Society, for some years a Missionary in Africa, subsequently Governor of Liberia,) to the office of Consul General of that Republic for the United States.

BENEVOLENCE OF THE SOCIETY.

This society was founded in benevolence to the African race. The great men who gave it existence saw the wide and comprehensive influence it must exert upon the destinies of Africa and all classes of her children. Constitutionally limited in its direct action to free persons of color, it has operated for good in all directions, and many benevolent masters have generously contributed to its funds, and availed themselves of the opportunity it has afforded of bestowing liberty in Liberia upon their slaves. And this result was predicted by the fathers of this Society at its origin. “The effect of this Society,” said its first president, Judge Washington, from Virginia, at its first annual meeting, “if its prosperity shall equal our wishes, it will be alike propitious to every interest of our domestic society, and should

Benevolence of the Society.

it lead, as we may fairly hope it will, to the slow but gradual abolition of slavery, it will wipe from our political institutions the only blot which stains them; and in palliation of which we shall not be at liberty to plead the excuse of moral necessity, until we shall have honestly exerted all the means which we possess for its extinction."

Let it be remembered that the General Government of the United States and this Institution have mutually co-operated in the suppression of the slave trade and in the care of the recaptured Africans, from the earliest days of the Society; that through the skill and courage of officers of our navy, possession was first obtained of what has since risen to be recognized by many nations as the independent Republic of Liberia; that contracts have been repeatedly made by the President with the Society for the support and civilization of large numbers of recaptured Africans, and that funds appropriated by Congress, have been paid over for this object, through their Board to the Government of Liberia, with advantage to all concerned.

Our present President and many of his predecessors have expressed a deep interest in Liberia.

Let this sentiment animate the friends of this Society and of our country, and another quarter of the world will be added to civilized and Christian communities, and this nation look with complacency upon the fruits of her own benevolence, upon the regenerated character of Africa, her renovated and rich tropical fields, her abounding commerce, her institutions of education, enterprise and piety, and become partakers in her joy.

We close this report in sorrow. Since it was commenced, this Society and the country have been deprived by death of a venerable benefactor, the Hon. ELISHA WHITTLESEY, who early advocated the cause of this Society, was for many years one of its Vice Presidents, and chairman of the Executive Committee, at all times watch-

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ful and zealous, and able in defending its interests. A volume might be written to exhibit the rare virtues of this excellent man, of whom, during his long life of eighty years, it may be said, from early manhood, he seldom, if ever, lost a day, or passed one without rendering service to mankind.

Solemnly are we admonished to hold the things of time subordinate to those of eternity.

FORTY-SIXTH
ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

Address of Admiral Foote.

The Forty-sixth Annual Meeting of the American Colonization Society was held on the 20th of January, 1863, in the Rev. Dr. Sunderland's Church, in Washington city, at half-past seven o'clock, P. M., when

The Hon. J. H. B. LATROBE, President of the Society, took the chair. Prayer was offered for the divine blessing on the occasion and the cause of the Society, by the Rev. Phineas D. Gurley, D. D., of Washington city.

Extracts from the Annual Report were then read by the Rev R. R. Gurley, Corresponding Secretary of the Society.

Admiral Foote of the Navy, who had command of our squadron on the coast of Africa, and expressed much interest in African Colonization, then addressed the audience in some practical remarks:

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Admiral FOOTE addressed the vast audience, to the following effect:

MR. PRESIDENT: The few remarks I propose to make on this occasion will be practical.

The present condition of our country has given to the American Colonization Society a significancy which it never had before

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Whatever differences of opinion may have existed hitherto in regard to the object, scope, management, and bearings of this Society, it would *now* seem that it is indispensable as an instrumentality of good to the suffering black man, both slave and free.

There never can be peace in the world, until the *status* of the negro is defined. Where shall he live? How shall he be instructed? What shall be his social position? What are his capacities? What his rights, natural and civil? These are questions that agitate the world. Statesmen, as well as philanthropists, are now engaged in solving this great problem. Under these circumstances it would be impolitic in the extreme to ignore this institution, so well adapted to accomplish the great end in view. No; let the statesman, the Christian, philanthropist, and all true patriots give their influence in sustaining this, the only Society of its colonial character which has thus far been successful in its operations. This success may be conclusively shown by giving a brief statement of the rise and character of colonies.

The history of colonies is an interesting history. From the earliest period down to the present time, colonies have been formed from a multiplicity of motives. Military colonies, penal colonies, and colonies founded on religious considerations, as exhibited by the Puritans of New England, show abundantly the varied character of colonies, as well as the motives upon which they were founded. It is not, therefore, surprising, in view of the fact that, with us, in the United States, containing a large free as well as slave population, that the idea of forming a colony for the benefit of the colored population, should have been entertained.

In the early days of the Republic, Jefferson and Marshall, with several prominent statesmen of the North, endeavored to remedy, the evil of so large a colored population in our own country. A suitable location for them was sought in the lands of the West. Spain and Portugal were also sounded on the subject, with reference to a place in South America or the West Indies; but their schemes were valueless, as they wanted the main requisite, that Africa itself should share in the undertaking.

When Africa was selected in the year 1816, and the American Colonization Society was formed, who could have anticipated the

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present condition of our country. It would be irrelevant for me, on this occasion, to discuss the causes which have led to this condition. I leave that to statesmen; my province having been rather to aid in crushing the rebellion than in commenting on its character and its history. But in view of securing an outlet to the free colored population of the country, and as a political measure, Liberia becomes of incalculable importance, as it now stands, an independent republic, ready to receive all the emigrants we can send her, and it cannot be overestimated.

To be more specific: in the formation of the Colonization Society, history shows us that the multiplicity of motives incident to its establishment prevailed in no small degree. The increase of national prosperity, the promotion of national commerce, the relief of national difficulties, the preservation of national quiet, were all urged upon the different sections of the country, and upon the different orders; while the higher Christian philanthropic aims to be fulfilled by these efforts, were not overlooked.

These were truly efforts of christianity throwing its solid intelligence and earnest affections into action for the conquest of a continent, by returning the Africans to their home and making this conquest a work of faith and labor of love. Thus we see a higher superiority in these schemes of African Colonization than were to be found in the Dutch, Portuguese, or the English colonies at Sierra Leone; and therefore, by the blessing of God, this Society stands to-day a successful experiment, while all others have either partially or wholly failed. In proof of this, permit me, as an eyewitness, to state a few facts in relation to Liberia, as facts are the strongest arguments.

In the first place: I have had an experience of two years in command of an African cruiser for the suppression of the slave trade and the protection of American commerce on the coast, and in co-operation with the British squadron, under the Ashburton treaty, when we captured three slavers, and suppressed the atrocious traffic in Southern Africa.

Liberia embraces an extent of 600 miles, in Northern Africa, and has crushed forever that trade within its domain; and just so far as Africa is colonized, so far the slave trade will be annihilated.

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In the second place: What is the character and influence of Liberia upon Africa and upon its colonies? I visited Liberia several times during my cruise on the African coast, where we found in full operation a Republic whose independence had been acknowledged by England, France, Prussia, Brazil, and since then by our own Government. We visited the people in their schools, on their farms, in their workshops, in their religious assemblies, courts of justice, and in their Congress; and bearing in mind the character and condition of their race in this country, we found comparatively a degree of order, intelligence, and thrift far surpassing that of any of the colored people in the United States. The debates in Congress, in many instances, would have done no discredit to many of our debating societies, while the messages of President Roberts will compare most favorably with those of many of the Governors of our States.

As the country becomes settled and the character of its diseases better understood, the acclimating fever is less dreaded. In fact, it now rarely proves fatal. The statistics, as President Roberts informed me, show some three per cent. a smaller number of deaths than in New England and Canada among the same population. The thermometer seldom rises higher than 85°, nor falls below 70° during the year.

The products of the soil are varied and abundant, capable of sustaining an immense population. The want of agricultural industry, rather than the capacity of the country to yield richly the fruits of the earth, has been the difficulty with the Liberians. With well-directed labor, of one-half the amount required among the farmers of the United States, a large surplus of the earth's productions, over the demands of home consumption, might be gathered. The country certainly possesses elements of great prosperity.

The country now belongs to the colonists; they are lords of the soil, and in intercourse with them it is soon observed that they are free from that oppressive sense of inferiority which marks the colored people of this country.

In religion Liberia compares favorably with any country. The number of Christian churches is large, and on Sunday a quietness prevails rarely seen in any country. It is true that some of the

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lower forms, in the vivid conception of spiritual things, may characterize the people; but far preferable is that than the tendency of our higher civilization towards attempting to bring the mysteries of our holy faith within the scope of human reason. It is true that Liberia, like all other places, furnishes its full quota of people showing the depravity of human nature. You will find there men who will rob hen-roosts, and intrigue for office, but this does not arise from the people being black, but because men are men.

The experiment therefore as to its effect, is designed to impart instruction to such a race from a higher one. It has had its success, and promises more. The heroism of the Christian missionary is still needed, for like all sinful men, the African needs faith, christian faith, and that faith we trust will overshadow the continent, through the instrumentality, at least in degree, of Christian colonists in Liberia. We must remember that the Africans have never had a Socrates to talk wisdom to them, nor a Cyrus, who was not a slave merchant, nor a Pythagoras, to teach that kindness was a virtue. Hence, the difficulty which the Christian Missionary has had with them, has been to satisfy their minds as to the miraculous phenomenon of there being a good man.

The Republic of Liberia contains a population of 200,000 inhabitants; not more than one twentieth of this number are American colonists. Its growth has been gradual and healthy. The government, from its successful administration by blacks alone, for the last fifteen years, appears to be fully established, and with all its short comings, I would say to the colored man in this country, who regards the highest interest of his children, to young men of activity and enterprise, that Liberia affords the strongest attractions. I presume that this Society considers that the colored man has his rights, one of which is to stay in this country, the land of his birth, if he prefers it, the other is, to go to Liberia, if he prefers that, and better his social, moral and political condition.

I would not join in any attempt to crush out the aspirations of any class of men in this country. But it is an actual fact, whatever may be thought of it, that here the colored man has never risen to that position which every one should occupy among his fellows. For, supposing the wishes of the philanthropist towards him to be fully

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accomplished, secure him his political rights, unfetter him in body and intellect, cultivate him in taste even, and while nominally free, he is still in bondage, for freedom must be the prerogative of the white, as well as of the black man, and the white man must also be left free to form his most intimate social relations, and he is not, and never has been disposed, in this country, to unite himself with a caste marked by so broad a distinction as exists between the two races. The testimony, on these points, of those who have had abundant advantages for observation, has been uniform and conclusive. For the colored man himself, then for his children, Liberia is an open city of refuge. He there may walk the earth in his full manhood, and he may there become a freeman, not only in name, but a freeman in deed and in truth.

The Hon. Mr. KASSON, of Iowa, then addressed the Society :

MR. PRESIDENT; For forty-six years the American Colonization Society has pursued the unobtrusive tenor of its way. The auspices of its birth beamed with the light of Heaven. The spirit of true Christianity infused its purposes. Its foundations were adjusted in the midst of prayers by the faithful; its rising walls were rectified by the hands of patriots; with some periods of sunshine, other periods of storm, and still other periods, perhaps more dangerous than either, of indifference, it still survives, and slowly marches toward the fuller accomplishment of its original designs, in the midst of great national changes, physical as well as political.

Sir, when your beneficent Society was launched upon its honorable career, no iron thread, spun from the bowels of the earth, hung either way from the summit of the Alleghanies, eastward to the shores of the Atlantic, westward to the Mediterranean waters of the Mississippi; and along which a vehicle of fire now drags a reluctant train laden with the wealth of a continent. At that time no magical wire, charged with a mysterious element of nature, floated over the snow-clad summits of mountain ranges, spanning half the earth, and whispering the secrets of the Pacific to the cities of the Atlantic within the ticking of a watch. Neither forest-clad, nor iron-clad

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monsters of the sea were then hurled across the great ocean, or against an enemy by a giant chained within their own timbers, defying adverse winds and angry waves. Your Society has lived to see all this. It has seen much more, and in God's eye a greater thing than these. Upon a distant continent, almost abandoned of civilization, almost destitute of Christianity, it has itself kindled a beacon light, radiating the beams alike of Christianity and of civilization. It has opened a door to the unknown interior of a great continent. It has taken a stone which the builders of our Government rejected, and has made it the chief corner stone of Africa. A commonwealth rests upon it, with all its executive, judicial, and legislative departments; and with its military, educational, and religious organizations. It is growing from within and from without. Recognized as a lawful Government some years ago by the first cabinets of Europe, it has now been recognized by our own, which no longer deems it beneath its dignity to exchange profitably its commerce, under international regulations of mutual advantage, with the people of another race. Your Society has already witnessed this degree of progress. It has under the blessing of a good Providence, educes all this in a less period, and with less intermediate disaster than that which accompanied the earliest white settlements on this continent. In addition to this, you have presented a mighty moral influence, and a very considerable physical resistance, against the most execrable traffic which ever stained the history of human transactions. You have, indeed, often converted the traffic itself into a blessing to its victims, and added power by it to your colony.

Thus, as I read your history, you have navigated your lone ship from America to Africa, anxiously avoiding on one hand the maelstrom of political strife, and on the other the threatening rocks of self interest and of prejudice.

In the views which I briefly offer to-night, it is my purpose to follow this traditional policy of your Society.

The noble dead, whose voices seem still to urge the interests of colonization; the munificent humanity of Bushrod Washington, your first President; the liberal spirit of Crawford, of Georgia, the instinctive sympathy with human progress, and the magnificent

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manhood of Clay, of Kentucky; the broad and deep sense of Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee; the humane spirit of Rush, of Pennsylvania, and John Taylor of Caroline, and Bayard of New Jersey; the eloquent force and sagacity of Robert G. Harper, of Maryland, the genius of Walter Jones, and of Key, whose name is inseparably woven with the flag of his country; the memory of all these, and of other noblemen of God's own knighting, your early patrons and managers, bind me alike to candor, to patriotism, and to humanity in considering.

THE AFRICAN QUESTION.

It is to this country what the Roman question is to Europe, only more important, more imminent. The problem presented to the founders of your Society a half century ago, before railroads, before telegraphs, before ocean steamers, remains still the problem of to-day. Notwithstanding the demonstration of Euclid, some mathematicians still announce the discovery of a rule for squaring the circle. So, now, notwithstanding the demonstrations of the Almighty, inventive politicians announce extraordinary solutions of this problem. One says bind the African on this continent in indissoluble bonds. Give him no means; if possible, extinguish his desire for development and progress in the scale of civilization; teach him no letters; give him no books; rivet him like Prometheus to the eternal rock of servitude; deny him all legal rights of marriage and of parentage; deprive him of free will; subject him to the will of another. Direct what faculties he has to physical production, for the benefit of another. Let his merit or his extraordinary diligence go to the emolument of the master, but in no case to the elevation of the slave. Contempt for the color, without respect for the quality, is the maxim. Build the foundation of society from this quarry; but whatever the grain of any slab, however fine the polish it might take, whatever the demands of the edifice, let none of this marble rise in the superstructure. Let the African in America be either a perpetual slave, or an outcast, an outlaw.

This, in the plain language of results, is the solution presented by one very large class of people, extending more or less over all parts of the United States at this moment.

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Elsewhere we hear another solution. Its current runs thus: The African is here without his fault. Give back to him, here, at once, the physical freedom, at least, to which he would have been entitled on his original continent. Give him a status in the courts which shall recognize the humanity of his race, rather than its vendibility. Guarantee to him that primary element of civilization, the family relation with all its rights. Give him the alphabet and all its combinations to which his capacity shall be found equal. Give him wages adequate to his labor. Impose no other restraints upon him than are imposed on other laborers. Then let him stay forever, as a race, upon the same soil, and in the same climate with the Caucasian, and develop as he may in the progress of events. These views are also entertained by very large numbers of people, and usually prevail most where this questionable race prevails the least. Those who entertain them are mainly guided by the light of Christian sentiment, and by the political principles established at our independence, but they do not solve the question. They only shift the difficulty. They reach the question of the African slave, but not the question of the African, which is by far the most difficult.

The former solution, which is directly antagonistic to this, also ends the question of the slave; but stops at that of the African. I only follow the path of the great men whose names grace the records of your society, when I declare the first solution untenable, unsound in principle and policy; and that both solutions involve serious injury, if not ruin, to our national interests. Ideas constitute the true life of moral and political organizations. They are to these what the blood is to the human system, what the will is to our other faculties; they are the motors, more or less comprehended, of all the vast machinery which creates history. The most powerful thing in the universe is an idea. The wind, the earthquake, the storm, the lightning may inflict their local devastation; but man will retrieve it. An idea possessing the mind of man or a nation may elevate, degrade, or destroy man himself, or an entire nation. It nobly moves martyrs to the stake, patriots to the scaffold, whole armies to the blazing muzzles of deadly artillery. It may also move religion to inflict the cruelties of torture, the crim-

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inal to the dungeon, and a nation to infidelity, the guillotine, and civil war. How fatal, then, is such a conflict! How much to be avoided, if possible. A nation may fight for a boundary, or a fact; may acquire it, relinquish it, adjust it, and the contest is ended. But let the contest be for conflicting ideas—there may be truces, cartels of suspension, hospital neutralities, and humane courtesies; but the contest is never ended save by the suppression of one idea under the acknowledged dominion of the other. History is full of illustrations of this truth; but our own country, perhaps, furnishes the most complete example of the moral necessity of harmony in its controlling ideas.

Thus, one idea which animated our fathers on this continent, and which permeated the Declaration of Independence, was personal freedom as the natural, rightful status of all men. The gate of progress must stand open to every branch of the human race. All obstructions to the universality of this idea were to be removed at some time more or less quickly; but were to disappear in the future. Bondage was inherently wrong, but might be endured for a while, so the conflict should end by its gradual disappearance. The papers of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Lafayette, verify this statement; and, indeed, it is admitted within the last two years by the leading advocates of the theory which I am examining. While the universality of the right of personal freedom, the transiency of personal bondage, continued to be animating ideas in the administration of our institutions, the wheels of the Republic moved as harmoniously as the doors of Heaven—

“On golden hinges turning.”

But in proportion as antagonistic and despotic ideas grew in magnitude, organizing the perpetuity of personal bondage, with the right to dispose of an entire race at public vendue, a necessary conflict arose. Both ideas could not expand in the same jurisdiction. They asserted a conflicting dominion. Our present generation of public men has been educated under the influences of this conflict. They are not, properly speaking, ruled by leading men, nor by a party, but by ideas. No Christian doubts that the one of these ideas which God supports will prevail, be it sooner or later. Most dis-

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astrously for the country, the contest has at this moment ceased to be visibly influenced by the prayers of the good, the plans of the wise, and the arguments of the logician. In a similar contest of ideas became a contest of arms, in England. John Milton, said: "I care not what error is let into the field, so truth be left free to combat it." Far happier for us had this maxim controlled our great debate, and prevented the gathering of the first stack of muskets.

The census furnishes some interesting facts which indicate the gradual retrogression of the old ideas. In the first decennial period from 1790 to 1800, the increase per cent of *free* blacks was 82. The decade from 1820 to 1830, shows 36 per cent. That from 1850 to 1860, gives only 10 per cent, showing a decreasing range of variation of 72 per cent. In the same time, the per centage increase of slaves, including the decade ending in 1810, when the increase was stimulated by the last year of a tolerated slave trade, varied upon a decreasing range of only 10 per cent. Manumission diminished as our fathers departed from their labors.

The records of your own Society, sir, confirm my representations of the early ideas and policy, and show that itself was established under the influence of the humane and progressive doctrines of our fathers. Judge WASHINGTON, your first President, in his first annual address, speaks of your purpose as "that enlarged and beneficent plan, which associates the *political emancipation* and future comfort of an unfortunate class of men with the civilization and happiness of an afflicted, oppressed and degraded quarter of our globe." * *

* * * "Should it lead, as we may fairly hope it will, to the slow but gradual abolition of slavery, it will wipe from our political institutions the only blot which stains them."

Just before the same anniversary, General HARPER wrote you from Baltimore in aid of your plan, and said: "It tends, and may powerfully tend, to rid us, gradually and entirely, in the United States, of slaves and slavery: a great moral and political evil, of increasing virulence and extent, from which much mischief is now felt, and very great calamity in future is justly apprehended." * *

In the same letter he says further:

* * "The alarming danger of cherishing in our bosom a distinct nation, which can never become incorporated with us, while it

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rapidly increases in numbers, and improves in intelligence; learning from us the arts of peace and war, the secret of its own strength, and the talent of combining and directing its force—a nation which must ever be hostile to us, from feeling and interest, because it can never incorporate with us, nor participate in the advantages we enjoy; the danger of such a nation in our bosom need not be pointed out to any reflecting mind. It speaks not only to our understandings, but to our very senses; and, however it may be derided by some, or overlooked by others, who have not the ability or the time, or do not give themselves the trouble to reflect on and estimate properly the force and extent of those great moral and physical causes which prepare gradually, and at length bring forth the most terrible convulsions in civil society, it will not be viewed without deep and awful apprehension by any who shall bring sound minds and some share of political knowledge and sagacity to the serious consideration of the subject. Such persons will give their most serious attention to any proposition which has for its object the eradication of this terrible mischief lurking in our vitals.”

While General Harper so powerfully portrayed this cause of alarm, he failed to foresee the danger then springing from another cause, which this unhappy epoch so effectually illustrates. He forgot the ethnological characteristic of the Caucasian himself, that he will fight for a grand idea of humanity, or of God, even when he finds no personal interest involved. He will fight to preserve, as well as to establish, certain traditional ideas of social or political organization. He will do this before the duller African mind has comprehended the same idea, although aided by his greatest personal interest. Had he been gifted with prophetic vision, he would have seen new ideas then organizing the perpetual bondage of a foreign race in our midst; organizing resistance to the spirit of our political institutions, and to the spirit of our fathers breathing through them; marshalling to their aid the powers of the press, the party, of prejudice and self-interest; and restricting the freedom of the press, the voice, and the vote on this subject. On the other side, he would have seen the original ideas of the ultimate universality of freedom organizing the battle for their own perpetuation more slowly, but equally surely; gathering to their aid, also, press, party, pulpit, and all other auxil-

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aries, whether of generosity or of interest. His country's heaven would have appeared dark with these gathering hosts, flashing mutual threatenings athwart the blue union which still embraced them both; until at last the lurid thunderbolt should burst upon the earth, the vision dissolving in the terrors of reality.

Although the grounds of alarm suggested by Jefferson, by Harper, and by many others, did then, and do still beyond doubt exist, yet the greater cause of alarm has been found in the influence of this population upon the political and social temper of the white race. So long as liberty and despotism are hostile elements in the world, and man's aspirations go forth to the one or the other, so long will this black ingredient in our national cup stir up adversities among our people, upon varying grounds of principle, of morality, of religion, of policy, or of humanity. Free thought must itself be fettered, and some of the grandest ideas and aspirations which it ever pleased the Almighty to plant in the breast of man, must become extinct, before the American people will rest content without progress in one direction or the other. With the fundamental relations of our political institutions to this question, what I have shown them to have been, what your own records prove them to be; with a revolutionary antagonism of ideas operating logically, to reverse them, during thirty years; next a popular decree in 1860 for the perpetuity of the ideas of '76 and '89, followed by resistance to this determination by arms; in this sentence is the whole significance of the present crisis, so far as the two races are concerned. It is a war involving the perpetuation of the ideas of '76 and '89, against the ideas of '32 and '54. The calamity anticipated by the wisest and best of our patriot sires has fallen upon the country, though in a different form from that predicted. The dominant race which once introduced this element of discord into the country almost exclusively suffers from the contest; while the subject race, by a species of Divine Justice, instead of finding its bondage made perpetual, avails itself of the general disorder of its own relations to escape from its bondage. Such appears to me to be the condensed philosophy of the past, in the midst of which, your Society has stood—

———“Like Atlas firm,
Though storms and tempests beat upon his brow,
And oceans break their billows at his feet.”

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As the result of this disorder, precipitated by the interest which professed above all other fears to dread such disorder, many thousands of freedmen are thrown upon the country, and in no contingency can be reclaimed to servitude. Many of these freedmen will become acquainted with the use of arms, and with military evolutions; many of them will constitute military organizations for exceptional service.

Now, sir, when this war is ended, and however ended, what a magnificent preparation is made for the separate progress of this race, and for the progress of colonization! Whether slavery remains to perpetuate the struggle against the imperishable ideas of the founders of our nationality, or itself presently or prospectively perishes, restoring harmony to all our institutions, in either event a new vigor and a new support should be given to the operations of colonization.

Take, if you please, the hypothesis that personal servitude continues. Here are thousands of Africans, freedmen, who to remain free must extricate themselves from the scenes, the climate, the ties to which they have been accustomed, and must labor among strangers, deprived of the society of their own race in many cases, and of the means of gratifying the social instinct so strong with that people. While enjoying his natural rights, he will not be admitted to, nor fitted for, the regulated civil rights which would imply the equality of the races. What road to the pursuit of happiness is open to him as a freedman, other than migration to a colony where his own race legitimately opens to him all the privileges of social and political equality? There he may use all the agricultural and mechanical arts he has acquired in America, and make them the instruments of personal independence, civil elevation, and wealth.

Then take your military organizations of that race; no use for them remains after the special emergency has passed, which called them into existence. They will not be retained in a reduced military establishment, not disposed to return to the dull routine of labor, forced among strangers, and possessed of the advanced ideas which would be inculcated by their military training; what shall they do but emigrate to a congenial climate, where they may the more effect-

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ally for their new training, serve to extend civilization by increasing both the civil and military power of the colony. They should be the explorers of the interior of that great continent to which your eyes have been so long directed. Livingstone's explorations have not only disclosed the existence in that interior of animal wealth, but also of mineral wealth, and of high and healthy plains and valleys. These military colonists, accustomed to discipline and hardy exercises, and capable of fighting their way, if necessary, should in the course of a few years crown and surpass the labors of Park and Maxwell, and Livingstone, and of others who have painfully sought the course of the Niger, and the sources of the Nile. That almost fabulous mineral wealth exists in the interior of Africa, no geographer can doubt. The domestic African lacks the intelligence to discover or develop it. The Caucasian lacks the physical characteristics to endure the climate. What remains but a loud call to the more intelligent African race in America, which has produced an astronomer like Banneker, a philanthropic voyager like Captain Paul Cuffee, to assume the discovery, and if necessary, the conquest of Ethiopia and its geological treasures, hidden for ages. The earth there awaits the arrival of this more intelligent part of the race to return to us an exuberance of such staples as coffee, cotton, and other tropical products which insure wealth to intelligent labor. Sir, there are two thoughts we must banish from our minds, that Ethiopia is the blank represented on the maps of our boyhood; and that the Almighty intended to exclude forever the African race from all participation in the progress of the human race in knowledge and enterprise.

If, on the other hand, this personal servitude is ended by the war, the foregoing views receive additional force.

I am not reckoned with those who think the African here is useless unless a slave. It is true that America does not belong to him, but to the Caucasian; Africa is his heritage; America is ours.

But his sudden removal would not only be impracticable, but inexpedient. Let him go gradually, and the white race gradually occupy the lands vacated. He is not welcome as a freedman to the

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colder States. He will not go there when he can remain, as a freedman, in the warmer States, and among his own people.

This reduces the question to his condition in the States where he has been a slave. In cases where his treatment has been controlled by the law of kindness, which I believe will embrace the majority of cases, the change would hardly be sensible. The master calls his servants and says to them, "you are freemen; you are entitled to wages for so much labor as you do for me; I can't sell you now if I wish to, nor can anybody buy you; but I can turn you off my plantation if you do not work well, and behave well. If you stay with me, you must do both; I will feed you and your families, and clothe you, and give you what more you may earn. When you show me what you will do, I can tell you what I will pay you beside. If you don't earn your living, because you won't work, I will drive you off."

Who has lived in the midst of this race and does not know that no other law or regulation would be needed by the great majority of the race, when governed by one who understood their character.

But while this would serve the purpose with the greater number, there would inevitably be some whose vicious and wasteful qualities would subject them to banishment.

Leaving without a character, they would be rejected when applying for employment elsewhere. Others would be arrested, as whites are, for infractions of the penal law. The objections to voluntary and compulsory emancipation have always been that freedmen would become vicious, and would corrupt the slaves. It may at first appear paradoxical, but it is true nevertheless, that this apprehension was more justifiable when freedmen were the exceptions than it would be when all are freedmen. In the former case, he was regarded with suspicion by the master, and perhaps with envy by the slave. He had a status between the two, and admitted to an equality with neither. When all are free the master fears nothing but positive vices. He fears no loss of property. The late slave and the former freedman are then equal, and subject to the same laws and rules of humanity.

Still there would be a necessity to provide for the only two evils which the white race, living in the midst of freedmen, would fear—vagrancy and crime. All other ills would be corrected by the com-

Address of Mr. Kasson.

mon law of kindness extended by the superior to the inferior, by the laws of society and of self-interest. In other respects, the hypothetical change of institutions would be effected with hardly a ripple upon the surface of daily duties on the plantation of an upright master. * * * *

I propose the subject for the consideration of a Society which has always been characterized by a regard for the best interest of both races; and upon which it is possible new duties may be imposed by the extraordinary events now transpiring, and by the prospective legislation of the several States, or of the United States, opening the way. If they make special provision for the unproductive and vicious portions of the race, the country would wait more patiently for such enlargement of the means of colonization as shall induce an emigration equal to the annual increase of that race within the United States. This rate of increase may be estimated for the future at about two per cent., or about 80,000 per annum. During the last census decade the ordinary commercial facilities afforded means for introducing, on the average, about 270,000 immigrants into the United States annually. With the removal of the increase, therefore, which is practicable, time would terminate the domestic contact of the races in the United States.

In any event, your Liberian colony will continue the honorable and progressive home of the voluntary emigrant. I would not propose to change its character a hair's breadth. It is a splendid memorial to the memory of Finley and Mercer, of Washington and Harper, of Caldwell and Clay, and of the early patriots and philanthropists of this country. With its many thousands of civilized Africans, its fifty churches, its college and schools, its organized and independent Government, let it kindle new beacon lights of Christianity and education along the headlands of the Atlantic coast, and upon the hill tops of the interior, until Ethiopia receives the baptism, and rises from her knees regenerated and disenthralled.

Adjournment.

The Society then adjourned to meet at the Society's office at 12 o'clock to-morrow.

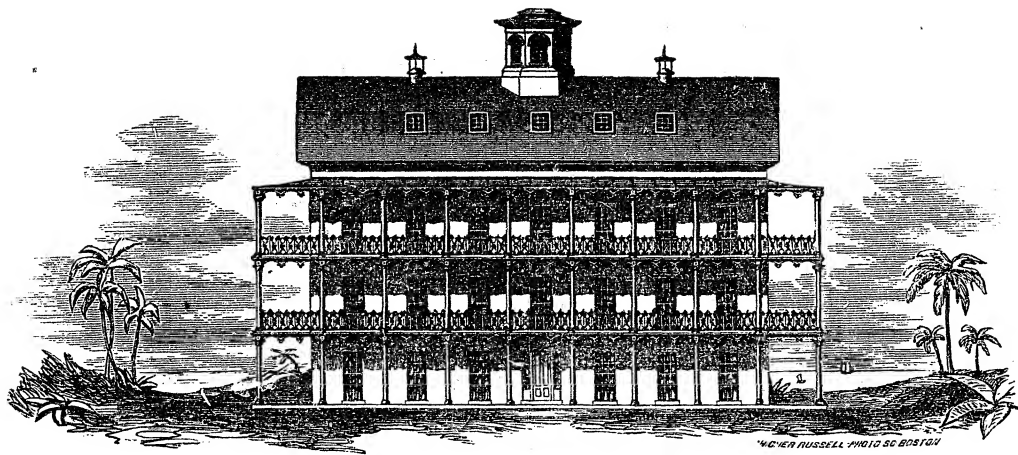
On Wednesday, at 12 o'clock, the Society met according to adjournment, when the President took the chair.

On motion, the reading of the proceedings of the last year's meeting was omitted.

The Rev. John Maclean, D. D., Hon. Daniel Baldwin, and Hon. William V. Pettit were appointed a committee to nominate the officers of the Society for the ensuing year.

After a short retirement, Dr. Maclean, chairman of the committee, nominated the following gentlemen as officers, who were unanimously elected. The list will be found on the third page.

On motion, the Society then adjourned to meet on the third Tuesday of January, 1834, at half-past seven o'clock, P. M., in such place in Washington city as shall be designated and announced by the Executive Committee.



LIBERIA COLLEGE AT MONROVIA.

EXTRACTS FROM THE PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
BOARD OF DIRECTORS
OF THE
AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY,
JANUARY, 1863.

WASHINGTON CITY, *January 20, 1863.*

The Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society met, this day, at 12 o'clock M. in the building of the Society, corner of Pennsylvania avenue and 4½ street.

The President of the Society, Hon. JOHN H. B. LATROBE, called the Board to order; and the Rev. JOHN MACLEAN, D. D., offered prayer.

The Board, in compliance with the seventh article of the By-Laws, proceeded to the appointment of a Secretary; and on motion of Dr. L. A. Smith, of New Jersey, WILLIAM COPPINGER was appointed.

The President appointed Rev. J. Tracy, D. D., Dr. L. A. Smith, and Rev. Franklin Butler, a Committee on Credentials, who reported the following named gentlemen as Delegates and Life Directors:*

Delegates for 1863.

Maine.—Rev. Franklin Butler.*

Vermont.—Hon. Daniel Baldwin,* George W. Scott, Esq.*

* Those marked were present.

Delegates.

Massachusetts.—William Ropes, Esq., Rev. John O. Means,* James C. Dunn, William G. Means, Esq.,* Hon. G. Washington Warren,* Joseph S. Ropes, Esq.,* Marshall Conant, Esq.*

Connecticut.—Hon. Ebenezer Flower,* Hon. S. H. Huntington, President Samuel Elliot, Hezekiah Huntington, Esq., E. A. Elliot, Esq., W. W. Wakeman, Esq.,* Rev. John Kennaday, D. D.

New York.—Hon. L. B. Ward,* Richard T. Haines, Esq.*

New Jersey.—Lyndas A. Smith, M. D.*

Pennsylvania.—William V. Pettit, Esq.,* William Coppinger.*

Life Directors.

John P. Crozer, Esq., Rev. R. R. Gurley, Dr. James Hall, Rev. John Maclean, D. D., Rev. W. McLain, D. D., Rev. John Orcutt, Rev. Joseph Tracy, D. D.

Executive Committee.

Dr. H. Lindsly, Hon. P. Parker, William Gunton, Esq., Rev. Dr. Samson.

The Rev. R. R. Gurley, Corresponding Secretary of the Society, presented and read the Annual Report; when, on motion of William V. Pettit, Esq., it was

Resolved, That the Annual Report be accepted, and that so much as relates to Finances, Auxiliary Societies, Agencies, Accounts, and Emigration, be referred to the several Standing Committees in charge of those subjects respectively.

The Rev. Wm. McLain, D. D., Financial Secretary of the Society, presented and read the Annual Statement of the Executive Committee of the Society.

On motion of the Financial Secretary, it was

 Committees.

Resolved, That the topics embraced in the statement of the Executive Committee be referred as follows:

<i>Subjects.</i>	<i>Committees.</i>
U. S. Government schemes of Colonization . . .	Emigration
Contributions	Auxiliary Societies.
Expenses in Liberia reduced	Foreign Relations.
New Jersey Settlement—Finley	Do.
Expeditions and Emigrants	Emigration.
Will Cases	Finance.
Legacies	Do.
The United States and support of Africans . . .	Accounts.
Account with the Liberian Government	Do.
Agents	Agencies.
Stocks, Bonds, and Mortgages	Finance.
Treasurer's account	Accounts.

The following are the Standing Committees, as announced by the President :

<i>Foreign Relations</i> , - - - - -	{ Rev. John Maclean, D. D., Hon. Ebenezer Flower, Dr. L. A. Smith.
<i>Finance</i> , - - - - -	{ Rev. Joseph Tracy, D. D., Richard T. Haines, Esq., W. W. Wakeman, Esq.
<i>Auxiliary Societies</i> , - - - - -	{ John P. Crozer, Esq., Hon. G. Washington Warren, Marshall Conant, Esq.
<i>Agencies</i> , - - - - -	{ Hon. S. H. Huntington, George W. Scott, Esq., Rev. John B. Pinney.
<i>Accounts</i> , - - - - -	{ Daniel Baldwin, Esq., Joseph S. Ropes, Esq., Dr. James Hall.
<i>Emigration</i> , - - - - -	{ William V. Pettit, Esq., Rev. John O. Means, L. B. Ward, Esq.

On motion of Rev. Dr. Maclean, it was

Resolved, That this Board adjourn to meet to-morrow morning, at 10 o'clock.

Adjourned.

Committee Appointed.

WASHINGTON CITY, *January 21, 1863.*

The Board met pursuant to adjournment. Prayer was offered by the Corresponding Secretary of the Society.

The minutes of yesterday's proceedings were read and approved.

On motion of Rev. Dr. Maclean, it was

Resolved, That the Committee of Nomination of Officers of the Society be now appointed.

The Rev. John Maclean, D. D., D. Baldwin, Esq., and William V. Pettit, Esq., were appointed.

The hour of 12 having arrived, the Board took a recess for the meeting of the Society; and after a brief season resumed its session.

On motion of John P. Crozer, Esq., it was

Resolved, That Dr. Robert R. Reed, of Pennsylvania, be invited to sit with the Board as a member.

On motion of Mr. Pettit, it was

Resolved, That the Board do now adjourn to meet this evening at 7 o'clock.

Adjourned.

JANUARY 21, 1863—[Evening.]

The Board met at 7 o'clock this evening, agreeably to adjournment: the President in the chair.

The minutes of the morning session were read and approved.

The Annual Report of the Rev. Franklin Butler, as agent for the States of Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont, was read, and on motion referred to the Standing Committee on Agencies.

The Report of Dr. James Hall, January—1863, as Agent of the packet Mary Caroline Stevens, was read;

Resolutions.

And on motion, it was

Resolved, That the report of Dr. James Hall, with the accompanying papers, be referred to the Standing Committee on Accounts.

A communication was read from the Hon. D. S. Gregory, Jersey City, January 19, expressive of regret at his inability to be present as a delegate from the New York Society.

A series of resolutions in regard to basis of representation, was offered by Dr. L. A. Smith : when,

On motion of Mr. Pettit, it was

Resolved, That the subject of the basis of representation be referred to a special committee, to report at the present meeting of the Board.

The Chair appointed William V. Pettit, Esq., Dr. James Hall and Rev. Dr. Tracy, the committee.

On motion of Rev. Dr. Maclean, it was

Resolved, That while the American Colonization Society leaves it to each of its supporters to determine for himself the grounds on which he joins the Society, yet that irrespective of all these, and uncommitted to any one of them, it confines itself to the sole object of its official existence, viz : "the Colonization of the free people of color of the United States, with their own consent, on the coast of Africa," and holds itself wholly uncommitted to the expression of any opinion of its Agents at its public meetings or elsewhere, or by any other than its own official proceedings or those speeches and declarations which it sanctions by express resolution.

The following resolutions, offered by R. T. Haines, Esq., was unanimously adopted :

Resolved, That this Board express to the Government of Liberia their high appreciation of the services of their Commissioners who lately visited this country, and that this Board regret the necessity of their return to Africa before they had an opportunity to commu-

Report of Mr. Crozer.

nicate more extensively with the friends of the cause and the colored people of the United States in regard to African Colonization.

Mr. Crozer, Chairman of the Standing Committee on Auxiliary Societies, presented the following report; which was read, and on motion accepted :

The Committee on Auxiliary Societies annually contributing, respectfully report :

That nothing of new or special interest connected with the Auxiliary Society effort, seems to claim the attention of the Board.

The agents of the Parent Society report, that they have everywhere been received with interest and kindness, and that gratifying evidence exists, that our cause "is gaining upon the confidence and sympathy of the public mind." "There is a growing willingness to contribute to the object." "That to accomplish all that is desirable and practical, *our* operations must be characterized by wisdom and harmony." A free interchange of views and corresponding action between the Executive Officers of the Parent Society and its tributary auxiliaries, whether State Societies or those of a more local character, cannot fail to promote the common object in which both are engaged.

The year has been one of trial with ours, as with most other benevolent societies. A diminution of receipts has been the result, but not to an embarrassing extent, not greater than was apprehended from the condition of our country, and the fact that the public mind was so forcibly directed to matters of more pressing interest. We believe that under judicious management and well directed effort to keep the single object of our Society, as defined before the American public, by means of State Auxiliary and of local Societies, as well as by direct agency, that increased interest will manifest itself from year to year by more enlarged contributions.

JOHN P. CROZER.

G. WASHINGTON WARREN.

Mr. Pettit, Chairman of the Standing Committee on Emigration, read the subjoined report, which was on motion accepted, and the resolution attached unanimously adopted:

Reports Accepted.

The Committee to whom was referred so much of the Annual Report, and of the Statement of the Executive Committee, as relates to Emigration, respectfully report: That they have given to the subject confided to them their careful consideration. It is an occasion of much regret to your Committee, as it must be to the friends of the cause in general, that the report and statement present so unfavorable an account of the operations of the Society in this department during the last year. It appears, that notwithstanding the unusual efforts made by the friends of Colonization, both through our own Agents and the Commissioners sent here by the Government of Liberia, to present the inducements held out by that country to the colored race in the United States to emigrate thither, but sixty-five persons were induced to avail themselves of those advantages. Considering the greatly disturbed condition of our country, and the unhappy circumstances in which the colored population is placed, it was reasonably to be hoped that a far larger number would have eagerly sought so safe and advantageous an asylum as that offered by the Republic of Liberia to those of their kindred and race remaining among us. Whether these results are to be attributed to any deficiency, or want of sympathy, on our part, or whether all has been done that could be done to impress upon the minds of our colored population the advantage to themselves and to their posterity, of removing to the land of their ancestors, it is plain that continued and increased effort on our part to present these inducements and advantages is our first and paramount duty. It is vain to amass funds and found organizations, unless the primary object of the Society, to wit: the Emigration of our people of color, shall be effectually carried out. And the committee would recommend that constant and unwearied efforts should be made by our officers and agents to acquaint our colored population with all the facts bearing on the case, and by courtesy and patient kindness, to endeavor to impress upon them to avail themselves of our benevolent and generous offer, to present to them a gratuitous home in a land where they may be truly free and prosperous.

The Committee, however, while regretting these discouragements, and that the fruits of our labors have not been more obvious and abundant, would not, nevertheless, allow their faith to be shaken in

Reports Accepted.

the ultimate success of the great work in which they are engaged. That a great and enlightened nationality—a nationality of civil and religious liberty—is to be established on the continent of Africa, growing out of the labors of the American Colonization Society, they have not a doubt, and their desire is that though these results may not be accomplished in a day, or a generation, that they may still labor on, and a refuge be established for the children of that land as shall become apparent to them that their interest and welfare is to be promoted by their going there.

But perhaps we should not be surprised that our encouragements have not been greater. Perhaps we should wonder that they have been so great. We should remember that habit and local attachments—especially strong in this emotional race—bind them even to the land of their thralldom, and renders their exodus trying and painful. Another people, under somewhat similar circumstances, had similar emotions, and though destined to a great and prosperous nationality, yet lamented in their exodus, the few comforts they had enjoyed in the land of their bondage. We should remember this in our present efforts to ameliorate and elevate the children of Africa among us, and while we appeal to their sense of manhood in inviting them to remove to where they may really enjoy it, we should be patient with their weakness in their willingness to endure a continuance of their state of inferiority. Indeed, after all, this may be necessary to the highest success, for if in our impatience, we should be able to induce them to migrate in a day, we would defeat the great end we have in view in educating, enlightening and elevating them to a high place among the nations of the earth.

The Committee would recommend the adoption of the following resolution :

Resolved, That the Officers and Agents of this Society are requested and enjoined to use their best exertions to present the advantages for emigration to Liberia in the most general and favorable manner to our colored population that the truth will justify, and by kindness and courtesy to conciliate their confidence and friendship towards this Society.

WM. V. PETTIT,
J. O. MEANS,
L. B. WARD.

Foreign Relations.

The Rev. Dr. Maclean, Chairman of the Standing Committee on Foreign Relations, read the following report, which was accepted, and the resolutions accompanying were adopted unanimously.

The Committee on Foreign Relations have taken into consideration such parts of the Report of the Executive Committee, and of the Report of the Managers as were referred to them, and they beg leave to submit the following resolutions :

1. *Resolved*, That the action of the Executive Committee, in regard to the Agents and Physicians employed by the Society, is approved by the Board.

2. *Resolved*, That when this Society offered to pay one-half of the expense of making the road to the New Jersey Settlement, it was done under the impression, not to say with the understanding, that one-half of the expense would not exceed the sum given by the New Jersey Society for this purpose. But since the actual cost of constructing the road and of building a receptacle at Finley, very greatly exceeds the sum which had been deemed sufficient for this purpose, this Board respectfully requests the Liberian Government to furnish us with a full statement, according to the proposals of President Benson, in his letter of 4th July, 1861, to the Colonization Society, of the expenses incurred, approved by the Agent of the Society, Mr. Dennis, as soon as these works shall be completed, and the Board will then (to the extent of their ability) do what is right and equitable, and they trust that the whole matter will be settled to the entire satisfaction of all concerned.

J. S. Ropes, Esq., from the Standing Committee on Accounts, submitted a report, which was accepted, and the first resolution adopted. Pending the consideration of the second resolution, it was

On motion of the Rev. Dr. Maclean,

Resolved, To adjourn, to meet again at the same place to-morrow morning, at 10 o'clock.

Committee on Accounts.

COLONIZATION ROOMS, WASHINGTON CITY,

January 22, 1863, 10 o'clock, A.M.

The Board met: President Latrobe in the chair. The Divine blessing was invoked by the Corresponding Secretary of the Society.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

The Board resumed the consideration of the remaining resolutions of the Standing Committee on Accounts, which were amended and approved by the Board, and are as follows:

The Committee on Accounts beg leave to report as follows on the matters submitted to them:

1. They find the Treasurer's accounts correctly kept and carefully vouched and audited, but they strongly recommend the adoption of a more simple and intelligible form for the annual statement of receipts and expenditures of the Society.

2. They find that the Society has faithfully performed, so far as lay in its power, its contract with the United States Government for the care of recaptured Africans, and that the only obstacle to a final settlement appears to be the failure of the Liberian Government to furnish the certificates required by the contract.

3. They find that the Society has furnished to the Liberian Government the account of the moneys received and expended by it for and on account of the same, as required by their agreement, and that no further action is required in the matter.

Your committee beg, therefore, to propose for your adoption the following resolutions:

1. *Resolved*, That the Treasurer's accounts for the year 1862, are approved.

2. *Resolved*, That the Government of Liberia be requested to furnish to the Society the certificates necessary to complete the settlement of the Society's contract with the United States Government.

3. *Resolved*, That the statement of accounts rendered to Janu-

 Resolutions.

ary, 1863, by the financial Secretary to the Government of Liberia, is hereby approved.

4. *Resolved*, That the accounts of James Hall, Esq., with the ship Mary C. Stevens, are hereby approved.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

DANIEL BALDWIN,	} Committee on Accounts.
J. S. ROPES,	
JAMES HALL,	

On motion of the Rev. Dr. Maclean, it was

Resolved, That in view of the call made by the Liberia Government, for certain accounts of the Society's Agents in Liberia, and of the refusal of the Executive Committee to accede to their call,—be a Committee to inquire into the grounds of the demand and of the refusal, and to report to this Board at the next annual meeting the result of these inquiries.

Resolved, further, That this committee inform the Liberia Government of their appointment, and also assure that Government that it is the earnest desire of the Board in all their negotiations, to act not only justly towards the Government of Liberia, but at all times to treat their calls for information with the highest respect and courtesy.

Rev. Dr. Maclean, J. P. Crozer, Esq., and Dr. James Hall, were appointed the committee.

The special committee on the Basis of Representation, reported the following resolutions, which were, on motion, adopted :

Resolved, That in the opinion of the Board of Directors, the true construction of the Fifth Article of the Constitution, which declares "that each State Society shall be entitled to one Delegation for every five hundred dollars paid into the Treasury of the Society, within the year previous to the Annual Meeting," includes not only all moneys actually remitted by such State Society, but all moneys expended by it under this direction or by the authority of this Society in writing; all moneys received during the year from legacies or otherwise, from residents of the particular State; and that in making up the basis of representation hereafter, the Executive Committee

Reports Accepted.

be guided by this construction of the Fifth Article of the Constitution.

Resolved, That all legislation inconsistent herewith be, and the same is hereby, repealed.

The Rev. Dr. Tracy, from the Committee on Finance, presented a report, which was duly considered, and accepted.

Mr. Scott, of the Standing Committee on Agencies, read the following report, which was, on motion, accepted.

As the only member of the Committee on Agencies present, I respectfully report:

Rev. F. Butler alone reports as agent of the Society, which report assures us of a growing interest throughout his field in the cause of Colonization and the bettering the condition of the colored people of our country.

The question of employing agents and their compensation can better be decided by the Executive Committee, and I would suggest that the subject be referred to them.

Your committee has great confidence in the beneficial results of the lectures of an efficient agent in the section of the field he represents.

G. W. SCOTT.

On motion it was

Resolved, That the Annual Report, as amended, be referred to the Executive Committee for publication.

Rev. Dr. Maclean, from the special committee on Nomination of Officers of the Society for the ensuing year, made a report, which was, on motion, accepted and adopted, and is as follows:

Corresponding Secretary.—Rev. R. R. Gurley.

Financial Secretary and Treasurer.—Rev. Wm. McLain, D. D.,

Traveling Secretary.—Rev. John Orcutt.

Executive Committee.—Harvey Lindsly, M. D., Joseph H. Bradley, Esq., William Gunton, Esq., Rev. G. W. Samson, D. D. Hon. Peter Parker, Hon. S. H. Huntington, Hon. John B. Kerr.

 Adjournment.

On motion of J. S. Ropes, Esq., it was

Resolved, That this Board desires to express its grateful acknowledgments to the Government of the United States for its righteous and philanthropic action in recognizing the Republic of Liberia as one of the family of nations; and that we implore the GOD who hath made all men of one blood to dwell on all the face of the earth, to crown with His blessing this and all other efforts to secure the permanent welfare of the colored race.

On motion of Dr. L. A. Smith, it was

Resolved, That the thanks of the Board be tendered to the President for the able and impartial manner in which he has discharged his duties at this meeting; also to the Secretary for his faithful and indefatigable services on this occasion.

On motion, it was

Resolved, That after the reading of the Minutes, the Board adjourn.

The Minutes were read and approved.

The Board then united in prayer, offered by the Rev. G. W. Samson, D. D., when the Board adjourned to meet again at this place, on the third Tuesday in January, 1864, at 12 o'clock, M.

JNO. H. B. LATROBE,

President of the American Colonization Society.

WM. COPPINGER, *Secretary.*

From the report of the able Financial Secretary, the Rev. WM. McLAIN, we learn that during the year the receipts, including the amount from the United States on account of the recaptured Africans, are.....	\$129,836 50
Payments made, including those on account of the Africans referred to.....	104,765 14
Balance	\$25,071 36

The reading of this report was listened to with profound attention, and on its conclusion it was unanimously adopted.